

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS--CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR'S
CONVERSATION WITH COUNSELOR NIMETZ

1. SUMMARY: CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU CALLED ON DEPART-
MENT COUNSELOR NIMETZ APRIL 14 TO GIVE HIS INITIAL
IMPRESSIONS OF TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS PRESENTED TO WALD-
HEIM APRIL 13, TO SOLICIT U.S. REACTIONS, AND TO URGE THAT
THE U.S. ASSUME A MORE DIRECT AND DECISIVE ROLE IN THE
SEARCH FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 098062

2. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT NO FINAL JUDGMENT COULD BE
MADE UNTIL THE DETAILS WERE MADE KNOWN, DIMITRIOU SAID THAT
IT WAS HIS PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT THAT THE NEW PROPOSALS
WERE UNREALISTIC AND WERE BASICALLY NO DIFFERENT FROM THOSE
THE TURKISH SIDE HAD PUT FORWARD IN VIENNA IN 1977. PAR-
TICULARLY OBJECTIONABLE WERE THE PROVISI4NS FOR DECISION-
MAKING IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH BY CONSENSUS RATHER THAN BY
MAJORITY, AND FOR THE CREATION OF A "VIRTUALLY HEADLESS"
STATE. FOR DIMITRIOU, THE PROPOSALS AS A WHOLE SMACKED OF
NAIVETE ON THE PART OF THE TURKS AND, HE ADDED, OF U.S.-

TURKISH COLLUSION AIMED PRINCIPALLY AT FOSTERING THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE FOR CONGRESSIONAL REPEAL OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.

3. DIMITRIOU NOTED THAT IN SPITE OF ITS PRIVATE DIS-APPOINTMENT THE GOC WAS MAINTAINING A CAUTIOUS, RESERVED ATTITUDE IN PUBLIC. HE READ FROM A SPEECH GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER ROLANDIS BEFORE THE CONSULAR CORPS ON APRIL 14, WHICH TOOK NOTE OF THE FACT THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD GIVEN WALDHEIM ONLY AN EXPLANATORY NOTE RATHER THAN THE FULL PROPOSALS BUT REFRAINED FROM MAKING ANY COMMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE. ROLANDIS HAD CRITICIZED THE TURKISH DECISION TO MAKE THE GIST OF THE PROPOSALS PUBLIC AND HAD PORTRAYED THIS AS AN EFFORT TO INFLUENCE CONGRESSIONAL OPINION IN THEIR FAVOR.

4. REFERRING TO THE SECRETARY'S APRIL 6 HIRC TESTIMONY, DURING WHICH HE REAFFIRMED THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, DIMITRIOU ASSERTED THAT THE TIME HAD NOW COME FOR THE U.S. TO ASSUME A MORE ACTIVE AND DECISIVE ROLE. THE PRESENT MOMENT WAS AN EXTREMELY CRITICAL ONE, AND IN MAKING A DECISION TO PRESS FOR REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO THE ADMINISTRATION HAD ASSUMED A FAR GREATER RESPONSIBILITY THAN HERETOFORE. DIMITRIOU NOTED THAT ON CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 098062

ACCOUNT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECENT CHANGE IN POLICY THE REACTION TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN MORE INTENSE AND MORE NEGATIVE THAN IT MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN.

5. NIMETZ SAID HE WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THERE HAD BEEN ABSOLUTELY NO COLLUSION OF ANY KIND BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY REGARDING THE NEW PROPOSALS. THESE HAD BEEN PREPARED BY THE TURKISH SIDE ON ITS OWN, AND THE DECISION AS TO WHEN THEY WOULD BE SUBMITTED HAD BEEN TAKEN SOLELY BY THE TURKS. NIMETZ SAID HE COULD NOT MAKE ANY OFFICIAL COMMENT EITHER ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS OR ON THE PROCEDURES THAT WOULD NOW BE FOLLOWED. WE HAD RECEIVED A VERY GENERAL BRIEFING FROM THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR APRIL 13, BUT THAT HAD PROVIDED VERY LITTLE INFORMATION BEYOND WHAT HAD BEEN MADE PUBLIC IN VIENNA. WHETHER TO RECONVENE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS THAT NOW EXISTED WAS A DECISION FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE PARTICIPANTS, AND IT WAS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR US TO INVOLVE OURSELVES IN THIS PROCESS. NIMETZ STRESSED, HOWEVER, OUR CONTINUING BELIEF THAT INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS REPRESENT THE ONLY PATH TO PROGRESS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. HE POINTED OUT THAT INITIALLY LIMITED TALKS COULD PRESUMABLY BE EXPANDED INTO MORE COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSIONS AS THE PARTIES SAW FIT. NOT TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY LEAD ONLY TO FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE STATUS QUO.

6. NIMETZ SAID THAT HE COULD APPRECIATE DIMITRIOU'S ARGUMENT THAT IN DECIDING TO PRESS FOR REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO WE HAD ASSUMED A GREATER RESPONSIBILITY VIS-A-VIS THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HOWEVER, OUR ROLE WAS NECESSARILY CONSTRAINED BY THE PRIMACY OF THE UN IN THIS AREA AND BY THE EXISTENCE OF A NEGOTIATING MECHANISM UNDER UN AUSPICES. WHETHER WE WOULD AT SOME FUTURE POINT AUGMENT OUR ROLE WAS ESSENTIALLY A DECISION FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 098062

O MAKE, AND HE (NIMETZ) COULD MAKE NO COMMITMENT IN THIS REGARD. CERTAINLY THE ATTITUDES OF BOTH THE UN AND THE TURKS WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WHEN CONSIDERING WHAT WE COULD AND SHOULD DO. NIMETZ DREW ATTENTION TO THE SECRETARY'S REAFFIRMATION IN HIS APRIL 6 HIRC TESTIMONY OF OUR COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, AND HE VOICED THE EXPECTATION THAT OUR USEFULNESS--IN TERMS OF INFLUENCE OVER THE GOT--WOULD BE INCREASED ONCE THE EMBARGO WAS REPEALED.

7. EXPANDING ON HIS EARLIER REMARKS ON THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS, DIMITRIOU STRESSED THAT PAST EXPERIENCE HAD TAUGHT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO BE EXTREMELY WARY OF TURKISH PROPOSALS AND OF TURKISH PROMISES OF FLEXIBILITY. HE WAS, FOR INSTANCE, SUSPICIOUS OF CONSTANT TURKISH CYPRIOT RECOURSE TO THE SECURITY FOR THE MINORITY COMMUNITY ARGUMENT, VIEWING THIS AS LITTLE MORE THAN A PRETEXT FOR CEMENTING THE DIVISION OF THE ISLAND. WHILE AGREEING THAT SECURITY DID APPEAR TO BE VIRTUALLY AN OBSESSION WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, NIMETZ SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN THE LATTER'S PERCEPTION THAT THEY WOULD IN A SENSE BE HOSTAGE TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT MAJORITY ONCE TURKISH TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN FOLLOWING A SETTLEMENT.

8. NIMETZ SAID THAT WHILE HE HAD NO INTENTION OF DEFENDING THE TURKISH POSITIONS, HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED THE NEW PROPOSALS REPRESENTED A STEP FORWARD FROM PREVIOUS TURKISH CYPRIOT CONCEPTS. ALTHOUGH THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION REMAINED UNCHANGED, THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL WAS CLEARLY FULLER AND PROVIDED FOR GREATER FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES THAN DID THE VIENNA APRIL 1977 PRESENTATION. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD FOR THE FIRST TIME INDICATED THEIR READINESS TO NEGOTIATE ON TERRITORY.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 098062

DESIGNATING SPECIFIC LOCALITIES THAT WOULD BE OPEN FOR DISCUSSION INSTEAD OF DRAWING A LINE OR NAMING A PERCENTAGE FIGURE WOULD SEEM TO PERMIT THEM A CERTAIN FLEXIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE. NIMETZ ALSO SAID THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY OPTI-

MISTIC THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING OVER VAROSHA. PSYCHOLOGICALLY THE IDEA THAT THIS WOULD BE A PREDOMINANTLY GREEK-INHABITED AREA HAD BEEN ACCEPTED.

9. DIMITRIOU ONCE AGAIN PRESSED FOR GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, POINTING OUT THAT WE HAD NOT HESITATED TO TAKE A CLEAR STAND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES--MIDDLE EAST, RHODESIA, SOMALIA--WHERE WE WERE ALSO NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED. DIMITRIOU SAID THAT WHAT HE HAD IN MIND WAS MORE FREQUENT REPETITION OF STATEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, AS THE SECRETARY HAD MADE IN HIS APRIL 6 TESTIMONY, PERHAPS BACKED UP BY ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO IMPLEMENT EXISTING UN RESOLUTIONS (BASED ON OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE 1977 UNGA RESOLUTION). A MORE FORTHRIGHT ROLE COULD MITIGATE THE EFFECTS IN CYPRUS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EMBARGO DECISION. NIMETZ POINTED OUT THAT THERE WERE GOOD REASONS WHY WE HAVE NOT BEEN MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SEARCH FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT; ASIDE FROM OUR DESIRE NOT TO UNDERCUT THE ESTABLISHED INTERCOMMUNAL FORUM ONE COULD NOT OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT, ON ACCOUNT OF THE EMBARGO, THE TURKS HAD LONG CONSIDERED US TO BE BIASED IN FAVOR OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND HENCE UNABLE TO BE IMPARTIAL. NIMETZ HYPOTHESIZED THAT WHEN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNDERWAY, WE MIGHT (IF ASKED) BE ABLE TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN HELPING TO NARROW DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

10. DIMITRIOU, SECONDED BY EMBOFF ANGELIDES, REITERATED THE CONCERN HE HAD EARLIER EXPRESSED TO DEPTOFF APRIL 6 (STATE 90550) OVER FURTHER "COLONIZATION" OF VAROSHA BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THEY STRESSED THAT IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE IN THE GOC'S EYES FOR THE TURKISH SIDE TO BE CREATING CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 098062

FAIT ACCOMPLIS AT THE SAME TIME AS THEY ARE PUTTING FORWARD NEW PROPOSALS AND EVINCING A READINESS TO NEGOTIATE. NIMETZ AGREED THAT THE CREATION OF A FAIT ACCOMPLI IN THE NORTHERN PART OF VAROSHA--IF THIS WAS INDEED THE CASE--WOULD NOT BE CONDUCIVE TO GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS. (DRAWING ON NICOSIA 961, DEPTOFF SUBSEQUENTLY DESCRIBED TO ANGELIDES THE CURRENT PHYSICAL SITUATION IN THE VICINITY OF THE CONSTANTIIYA HOTEL AS WE WERE ABLE TO DETERMINE IT. DEPTOFF SAID THAT THE AREA IN QUESTION APPEARED TO BE THE SAME THAT HAD PROMPTED GOC RECOURSE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL LAST YEAR, AND THAT OUR IMPRESSION WAS THAT CURRENT CONSTRUCTION AND OCCUPANCY APPEARED TO BE RELATED TO DECISIONS THE TURKS AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD TAKEN LAST SUMMER RATHER THAN TO MORE RECENT MOVES. ANGELIDES SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD CEASED CONSTRUCTION AND SETTLEMENT IN THIS AREA FOLLOWING THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AND HAD ONLY RECENTLY RESUMED THESE ACTIVITIES AT THE SAME TIME THEY

WERE PREPARING A NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL ON VAROSHA.) CHRISTOPHER

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